615 Clan II: Ko:ve:ru (Ko:vu:r or Koyaru) and Beḷḷi septs;
614 Clan III: Barata and Maduve (otherwise Maituve or Mandu)
612 septs. This last clan, whose ancestors had come from the Aṅgala
[793] monastery where they were *Jaṅgama* priests, provides priests (Woderu) for most other Badagas.

Because the clans are not actually named, the confusing practice
615 has grown up of referring to them either by the names of villages where they are found or by the names of their constituent septs. Further identification of the clans is found in the unusual feature
(582) of their recognizing clan deities. As with the Lingayat Mallavas of Coorg (Srinivas, 1942, 36–37), Wodeas who worship the same god may not intermarry.

615 Wodea marriages are arranged between members of any two of
582 the three clans, even if between inhabitants of the same village; marriages also link those of the Nilgiris with those of Ha:sanu:ru.
177 Since the beginning of this century marriages have been contracted with Lingayat girls from the Wodea caste of Mysore who, unlike
615 Badaga girls, bring a dowry and are often well-educated: outsiders are thus increasingly entering the community. Some intermarriage with Kaggusis has occurred, and in a few cases Wodea girls have married Kaṇakkas.[9]

615 Wodeas, however, cite not only their supposed royal origins[10]
(186) but also the longer time they have lived in the Nilgiris as reasons for the near-absence of intermarriage between them and the other Lingayat clans. Initially, too, they were suspicious about whether these immigrants really were Lingayats; and furthermore the fact that people of these three clans may marry non-Lingayats is
(795) obviously not lost on the Wodeas. Locally they are considered a very conservative and orthodox Lingayat group, in the sense that they abide strictly by whatever prescriptions and proscriptions of
• [212] the Lingayat creed are known to them. Lingayats of Mysore might regard them as rather unorthodox, though, for the Badagas were illiterate until this century and were thus unable to read Lingayat scriptures or even to follow the religious calendar properly (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). Apparently the Wodeas had established their position as a self-perpetuating phratry in the Nilgiris before the other Lingayats arrived.

In the past Wodeas did not accept food from Ha:ruvas or any socially inferior phratry but would eat in the inner room of any
(252) other Wodea house (Grigg, 1880, 220). Their food may only be
(264) cooked in metal vessels, not earthenware. Other Badagas take

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

615 food (always vegetarian) only in the outer, less-sacred part of a
(264) Wodea house. Members of the Nilgiri tribes accept food from the Wodeas too, but are not allowed to pass beyond the veranda into the house.

KOṄGARU

These people, like Ha:ruvas, wear a single thread without *linga* and are vegetarian. They intermarry with Kaṇakkas, Ha:ruvas and Kaggusis. There are four villages of Kongaru.

HA:RUVAS

614 Like the Wodeas, the one clan of Ha:ruvas numbers about four
(162) thousand people. They occupy only six villages, but this does not imply that the villages are unusually large, for very often a Ha:ruva family lives permanently in a Gauda village. Perhaps
(793) half the Ha:ruvas are so distributed, as they have traditionally been priests in Gauda and Torea temples. Of the five clans making
(615) up the phratry to which they belong (the only unnamed one), Ha:ruvas alone have challenged the Wodeas for primacy in the social hierarchy. The ramifications of this claim will be explored when the Badaga factions are discussed (see below, pp. 203–204).

(795) Ha:ruvas are vegetarian Shaivites but not Lingayats. For over a century they have been claiming that they were originally Brahmins before leaving Mysore and that they should therefore be treated as such.[11] This Brahminization, reminiscent of the nineteenth-century Kherwar movement in the Santal tribe (Orans, 1965, 36–37), has been primarily an attempt to gain higher rank. Little of Ha:ruva behaviour accords with that of true Mysore Brahmins, however. The three indicators in support of their Brahminhood are the observable facts that they are vegetarians, they wear a thread across the left shoulder and they have acted as temple priests to the great majority of Shaivite Badagas.[12]

(212) Despite these arguments the subculture of the Ha:ruvas is for Brahmins a most atypical one: they have no special ceremony for investiture of the sacred thread and do not consider themselves 'twice-born'; the thread itself has only one strand instead of the customary three; until this century they were totally illiterate in Sanskrit, Tamil and Kannada; and they are altogether exoga-

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently—typically once a week—and their children can attend high school or even college without losing much contact with the home. (Ootacamund has two colleges and Coonoor another, all three affiliated with Madras University.) Literacy and newspapers in Tamil have spread, too, in part because of the easy transportation system. The literacy rate is now seemingly higher in the rural Nilgiri Plateau than in Madras City: in 1963, 78% of adult Badaga males and 52% of females were literate, while in 1961 70% of Madras City males and 48% of females were literate.[12] Even old Badagas are often quite familiar with daily news stories, weather forecasts and even some political predictions (cf. Hockings, 1965 a, *passim*).

The cheap railway and bus services have made visits to the great pilgrimage centres of South India possible for thousands: the famous temples at Cape Comorin, Madurai, Palni, Tirupati and Tanjore now receive Badagas almost daily. Nor must we overlook the business trip: increasingly farmers as well as traders find it worth visiting cities when they have a harvest to sell or bulk supplies to purchase.

The modern cities and great pilgrimage centres can have two different types of psychological effect: a city shows the Badaga visitor profusions of consumer goods, among them new household devices, radios, watches, bicycles and cameras, as well as interesting foods, cloths and ornaments; the pilgrimage centre, on the other hand, stresses ties with the mythical past of South India, with the gods represented in the temples, with priestly authority and with the grand history of the temples themselves. It is an important distinction: the man who goes to a distant temple may come home with his attention focussed on the past and on separation of the self from worldly matters, whereas the man coming from a business trip may be full of a desire to buy some implement he has seen or try out a new skill or save money so that his son may attend college in the city.[13] This distinction between the conservative and the modernizing effects of travel is to some extent paralleled in the choice between mythical and modern film themes or between religious and secular magazines. Not all contact with the cities necessarily introduces people to modern ways of life; not all who patronize radio, films or periodicals are drinking at a source of non-traditional knowledge, for though the media may be modern the villager discriminates in what he derives from them.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

482 = 205

10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

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11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

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12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

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13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

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14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

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15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

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16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

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17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

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18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

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'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

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E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

of a sociologist, is that—unlike most communities on the subcontinent—the Badagas can be categorized neither as tribe nor as caste. To be precise, they are refugees drawn from several castes in southern Mysore centuries ago, who then consolidated themselves into a community on the Nilgiri Massif and to some extent may have then emulated the social organization of the neighbouring Toda tribe (Hockings 1979a).

The very name *Badaga* means "northerner" in their language, and was clearly applied to them only after they had fled from the plains immediately to the north of the Nilgiris. The reason for this flight is made quite clear in their legends: in A.D. 1565 the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed by Muslims invading from the north. The ancestral Badagas, fearing for the safety of their womenfolk, fled to the Nilgiris and adopted a tribal type of dress for both sexes. In 1603 a certain Father Finicio, the first European visitor, encountered them on this plateau. He described them (in Portuguese) as as Badegas, and gave the impression that they then numbered 500 to 1,000 people and inhabited no more than three villages (Finicio 1603). Already they had quite a varied mixed-farming economy. The most remarkable accomplishment of the Badagas has been the consummate success with which the community has adapted to and multiplied in surroundings that were initially wild and strange for them, and which lay at an elevation 3,000 to 5,000 feet higher than did their ancestral villages on the Mysore Plain. Their agricultural success has been partly due to their adoption of foreign techniques. Typically European crops are commonly grown today on terraces made with the help of machines. The fields are nourished with artificial fertilizers and the harvest is transported in lorries. These improved techniques have led to a better standard of living and a tendency for fathers to provide their sons with the education that they missed themselves. In the four main towns of the Massif there is now a sizeable Badaga middle class, and many of the men are doctors, lawyers, teachers, or government officials. Although still largely a rural people, speaking a distinct but unwritten Dravidian language, Badagas now have an unusually high rate of literacy in both Tamil and English.

Previous Studies

1.3. It is possible to show in considerable detail how the Badaga

mentators who have left a large body of writings preserved in the monasteries of Mysore State.

The Lingayat philosophy is a complex and neatly coherent system of speculation, but until literacy came to the Badagas during the present century it was known to Lingayat Badagas only in merest outline. Vīraśaivism is most prevalent in the present Mysore State, where the Mysore Backward Classes Committee Final Report (1961) estimated the number of adherents in 1959 at 3,293,000. The few thousand of these people who live in the Nilgiris are the southernmost fringe of this religious community; and until the present century they were practically ignored by the monasteries in Mysore State.

Vīraśaivism is a creed that stresses the omnipotence of Śiva: a Lingayat should not worship any other god than Śiva, and must worship him through the medium of the image of the lingam, which hangs in a metal container from the man's neck throughout his adult life. There is a hierarchy of monks living in numerous monasteries throughout Southern India, although not in the Nilgiris; but temples are not a necessary part of Lingayat religion.

For Lingayats there is in their doctrine no caste: a Lingayat considers himself above and beyond a Brahmin in sanctity. Not only that, but people can be and have been converted to the Lingayat faith from any of the varnas, even sometimes from the Untouchables. The dead Lingayat is buried in the ground, and never cremated. Such universal Hindu tenets as the performance of śraddha (commemorative rites for the dead) and the concept of reincarnation are rejected by Vīraśaivism. It is essentially a reformer's philosophy, directed against the sacerdotal and Vedic traditions, and aiming to remove apparent social and religious evils from Hindu India.

1489 up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by head, on horseback, or on bullock carts (Ward 1821: lxv). With such a restriction it was impossible for Badagas to export fresh vegetables to other parts of India, even had they been interested in doing so (Grigg 1880: 480).

In 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor, and by 1913 it reached as far as Cotacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and Badaga laborers, giving to many their first experience of earning cash by working. When the 1914-1918 War began there was thus a quick and easy means of exporting fresh vegetables to all parts of India, and even beyond.

1496 1499 [M]

During the years between the two wars trucks became a common phenomenon in the District, and roads were improved to accommodate them. Some of the Badagas who became middlemen purchased trucks to improve their business.

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At this time a local bus service also began. In the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is no longer a Badaga hamlet anywhere which is more than three miles from a bus route leading to one of the towns. 57 different routes are now traveled within the Nilgiris District, some by several competing companies.

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The existence of buses in such profusion has helped the Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently -- typically once a week -- and thus their children can attend high school and even college without having to lose their close contact with the home. Literacy and newspapers have spread, too, with the help of the easy transportation system. Literacy today is quite as high in the rural population of the Nilgiris as it is in Madras City, according to a survey which I conducted: in 1963, 77.8% of Badaga males, and 51.8% of females, were literate; whereas in 1961 69.6% of Madras City males, and 48.2%

(1484)

•212 (125)

of females, were literate (India 1962: 133). Even old Badagas are often familiar with daily news stories, with weather forecasts and political predictions.

One of the most important benefits of the bus system, at least in the eyes of the Badagas, is that it permits frequent trips to the movie houses. Film-going is an important event in the lives of most Badaga families today; what they see has a great impact on them; and in nearly every family there is at least one film-goer. Some of the most popular films are dramatizations of Indian history or of the epic stories. These are presented in such a way that they reinforce traditional ideas about Hinduism and the nature of the universe. But equally popular are the films about "modern" life, about social problems such as divorce, widow remarriage, "love" marriages and intercaste marriages; dramas which are presented against a background of affluence that is a new experience to the villager. These "modern" themes extol urban life, untraditional marriage practices, and the desirability of owning such luxury goods as cameras, watches, radios, mechanical toys and sports cars. The impact of these films is already clear: younger Badagas yearn for watches, cars, cameras and all the other paraphernalia that they have come to associate with modern urban life. A sample of 301 Badaga males in 1963 gave this information about their film-going habits:

Frequency:

Never go	17.6%
Rarely go	23.9%
Once a month	19.3%
Once a week	19.3%
More than once a week	1.7%
(Not ascertained)	18.3%

178 community, and the education of one's sons have become new indicators of social
(454) (554) status and agricultural success.

The easier access to wealth and higher education in the decades since 1913
•(212) has brought further socio-cultural changes to the Badagas. For an agricultural community in India they have an unusually high rate of literacy (77.8% of males, 51.8% of females in 1963) and of knowledge about the nation, the government and international affairs. Much of this information is no more than conversation material; but it sometimes becomes relevant when unusual decisions have to be taken, or new regulations dealt with: how to get a loan for terracing fields, or where to go for a scholarship,
(184) for example. University education has led to the appearance of a new urban class of Badagas, who may still live in the natal village, but who maintain offices in the towns where they practice as doctors, lawyers or businessmen. A few Badagas are prominent in state and national politics, too. A random sample of 301 males in 1963 in-
(871) cluded 9.6% who had attended college.

These economic changes have taken place against a backdrop of steadily
489 improving communications media. All of the more populous villages are linked with
(178) the towns by regular bus services. There has been a railway service to the plains since the beginning of the century. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizers or buy potatoes have their own trucks. A few of the more successful tea-growers
177 possess cars or jeeps as well. Most Badagas now spend one day a week in the nearest market town, where they not only buy provisions but also talk to acquaintances in the tea-shops, pick up the latest gossip, and see a Tamil film. Radio is used mainly as a channel for hearing light music, and is not so important as the films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. It is probably no exaggeration to say that today every Badaga hamlet has easy access to

We may assume for
121 the moment that Lambert's findings relate only to Northern India; but they are nevertheless worth comparing with our findings in the Nilgiris.

Many of the studies cited by Lambert were village-centered ones. The villagers' social relations with towns or cities are typically those summarized by Opler (1956: 5-10): participation in national religious or political movements; pilgrimages to distant shrines; connections with the market town and its lawcourt, land records office, officials, and seed and farm-implement stores; and temporary out-migration for education. The other "extensions of an Indian village" (to use Opler's phrase) relate it to neighboring villages. Such connections also exist between Badaga hamlets and the Nilgiri towns; but at least in the Nilgiris (and, we might suspect, in much of rural Northern India as well) there are other kinds of connection with the towns that are far from negligible and yet receive no mention anywhere in Lambert's survey: I refer to the use of radio and the habit of seeing films. The impact of these media is not to be discounted; nor indeed is that of the newspaper, which Lambert dismisses with a single quotation from D.N. Majumdar: "Newspapers are not popular among the villagers, and even if they were supplied to them free of cost, they would not benefit them. One reason for [the] unpopularity of newspapers is the illiteracy of the villagers..." (Majumdar 1958: 296). This statement refers to a single village near Lucknow, U.P. The contrast between this situation and that of Badaga
(212) villagers is staggering. In a sample of 301 Badaga males from all educational levels (illiterate to M.Sc.), the following breakdown was obtained on their reading habits:

Illiterate (and/or blind)	17.9%
Read nothing	6.3
Read newspapers only	33.9
Read newspapers and periodicals	40.5
Read periodicals only	1.3

121 This, the same random sample cited elsewhere in the present study, suggests that
• 212 some 75% of the male population has some personal acquaintance with printed news media; although the regularity of reading varies greatly. The women showed much lower frequencies of reading: in a random sample of 119 Badaga females 49.6% were illiterate, and another 22.7% claimed never to read anything.

121 There is no doubt that the Badagas are familiar with the urban-industrial
(M) values of modern India: they participate in all of the traditional village-urban connections described by Opler; and they also make use of the modern communications media to such an extent that a real impact has been felt by the younger Badagas and is reflected in their changed values and personal wants.

Lambert (1962: 123) agrees with Opler that there is a series of traditional links between the village and the town in North India; he does not mention the modern links that we have noted in the Nilgiris. It is undoubtedly true that many Indian villagers approach a big city with some trepidation, and carry to it -- even if they are settling there -- as much of their traditional family organization and religious values as is feasible. But it is not correct, at least in the case of the Nilgiris, to stress the cultural barries between villages and towns to the point where a negligible level of communications is implied: villagers can and do learn the directions of cultural change from the towns, and adopt some urban values and practices in their marketing, education, entertainment, transportation and financing. Communication between town and village in the Nilgiris has been an important element in the cultural changes of this century (even if the radio or newspaper has acted as intermediary in some instances). One reason why this is perhaps more true of the Nilgiris than of the parts of Northern India referred to by Lambert, is that the Nilgiri towns are not large. Ootacamund, with a population of 50,140 (in 1961), is still small enough

8: Hockings K-S (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

5. Adoption and Inheritance

Upon the death of a family head only his sons inherit his property. The farm-land and cattle are divided between them, or else maintained undivided as joint family property. But with regard to the house, the Badagas have the unusual institution of ultimogeniture: it is the youngest son who inherits the house and usually keeps his aging mother and unmarried sisters in it. New houses might have to be built for the elder brothers. The ultimogeniture makes good sense in a society where often a girl was married by the age of 12, and where consequently the oldest son of an elderly widow might be no more than 13 or 14 years her junior. Her youngest son is more likely to be a young man in the prime of life, more vigorous, with fewer dependents, and better able to provide for his old mother. By the time he has grown up, his elder brothers have commonly married, cleared fresh farmland, and built themselves new houses near this land (Rivers 1906: 560; Frazer 1918: 81).

Since the Badagas were until recently non-literate, and even now write wills only in rare cases, there has always been a series of rules to handle the transition of property from the dead to the living, whether lineal male descendants or adopted sons. Their substitute for a written will is the *sa:la jo:li*, a verbal statement made by the dying man. Each wish *(sa:la)* in it is normally followed by his relatives, but if any wish seems unfair they will immediately question him about it. Unfairness should here be construed as meaning an unequal division of property between the male heirs or too much generosity towards the wife and/or daughters. These people will try to reach a compromise with the dying man so that his wishes can later be followed without further argument.

There are no rules about particular kinds of property going to particular categories of relatives, with the one exception that when the head of the household dies, his main house goes to his youngest son. Even so, the *value* of that house has to be divided between all the sons, so that the youngest may well have to give something to his elder brothers. The rights of the youngest son in the house are absolute. It is true that he must be ready to shelter his widowed mother there; yet if he wants to he can sell the house without prior consultation. The funerals of his father and mother will be held there, under the superintendence of their *eldest* son. Yet if the eldest son wants to bring Kota musicians to perform at the funeral, and the youngest son prohibits this, his will must prevail since it is his house.

In 1963 I interviewed a sample of 301 Badaga males (aged 15 and above), and a further sample of 119 adult females. These people came from all parts of the Nilgiri District; and one of the questions asked concerned the number of houses that they "owned." In Table 1 it will be seen that 38% of the men did own houses, but only 19% owned more than one house. The percentages of women "owning" houses were at nearly all levels less than for